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D E F E N S E
OF HIS
R E F L E C T I O N S
UPON

Ancient and Modern Learning.

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DEFENSE
OF THE
REFLECTIONS
UPON

Ancient and Modern Learning,

In Answer to the

OBJECTIONS
OF

Sir *W. Temple*, and Others.

With OBSERVATIONS upon
The Tale of a Tub.

By *WILLIAM WOTTON*, B. D.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Tim. Goodwin*, at the *Queen's Head*, against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*. MDCCV.

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REFLECTIONS
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Ancient and Modern Learning,

In Answer to the OBJECTIONS
of Sir *W. Temple*, and Others.

To Anthony Hammond, *Esq;*

Honoured SIR,

WHEN I first began at your
Desire to draw up my
Thoughts concerning the
comparative Extent and Ex-
cellency of the Learning of the Ancients
and the Moderns, I did not imagine that
that I intended to say upon that Subject,
could have met with that Opposition which

A Defense of the Reflections upon

I found it did. One would think that a Vindication of the Designs and Performances of the Age one lives in, should be grateful to every Man; especially to those who think they can do any Thing considerable, since upon this Foot all Parties should in all probability be pleased. Let Mens Studies lie which way they will, towards Divinity, Mathematic's, Philosophy, Philology, or Natural History, such a Design can only tend towards putting the World upon setting a due Value upon the Labors of these Men, especially if they be really excellent or useful. And he whose whole Aim is to lessen and disparage the Performances of Learned Men, ought, methink, so far to be looked upon as a Common Adversary. It is plain both by Sir *W. Temple's Essay*, and by his *Defense of that Essay*, that it was his Drift to represent Mankind, in these latter Ages, as languid and effoete, when compared with what it was 3 or 4000 Years ago. The Inventions and Discoveries of the present Age, especially by the *Men of Gresham*, have been treated with Contempt, and the value which has been put upon them, by truly Competent Judges, has been attributed by him to Pride and Ignorance. His Censure was manifestly rash, because in several Things he plainly shew'd that he understood nothing of the Matter. And his Quality and Wit did but

no means enable him to pass such a Judgment. I never thought my self tolerably qualified to make the due Comparison, I only pointed at some of the most considerable Things, thereby designing to assist those who were more unacquainted with the Question to make a general Judgment. I endeavoured likewise to write as decently towards Sir *W. Temple* as I could, since he was wholly a Stranger to me, and had very agreeably entertained the World with several ingenious Treatises. The Society which I principally had in my Eye to defend, whom he more than once contemptuously calls, *the Men of Gresham*, were many of them every way as considerable for Birth and Quality, for Parts and Wit as Sir *W. Temple* himself, and their Labors were what in Truth deserved the just Applauses of the Lovers of Learning and Religion; they having been, as they still are, so eminently serviceable to both. So that setting Sir *W. T.* himself aside, from whom I did not expect any Commendation, I thought the rest of the Learned Men of this Age would not be ill pleased with my Design, how much soever they might be dissatisfied with the Performance.

I was surprized therefore to see Mr. *Keill* in his *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory*, fall so severely upon me in these words; "I wonder therefore why Mr. *Wotton* in
"his

A Defense of the Reflections upon

“ his Reflections upon Ancient and Modern
 “ Learning, should say, *That Des Cartes*
 “ *joined to his great Genius an exquisite Skill*
 “ *in Geometry ; so that he wrought upon in-*
 “ *teligible Principles in an intelligible man-*
 “ *ner, tho’ he very often failed of one Part*
 “ *of his End ; namely, a right Explication*
 “ *of the Phaenomena of Nature ; yet, by*
 “ *marrying Geometry and Physics together,*
 “ *he put the World in hopes of a Masculine*
 “ *Off-spring. This, I think, is a clearer*
 “ *Demonstration than any in Des Cartes’s*
 “ *Principles of Philosophy, that Mr. Wot-*
 “ *ton either understands no Geometry, or*
 “ *else that he never read Des Cartes’s Prin-*
 “ *ciples ; for from the beginning to the*
 “ *end of them, there is not one Demon-*
 “ *stration drawn from Geometry, or in-*
 “ *deed any Demonstration at all ; except*
 “ *Mr. Wotton will say, that every Thing*
 “ *that is Illustrated by a Figure is a De-*
 “ *monstration, and then indeed he may*
 “ *produce enough of such Demonstrati-*
 “ *ons in his Philosophical Works. So far*
 “ *was Des Cartes from marrying Physics*
 “ *with Geometry, that it was his great*
 “ *Fault that he made no use at all of*
 “ **Geometry in Philosophy.**” (b) For
 had I made a Mistake, and had *Des Cartes*
 never joined Mathematics and Philosophy
 together, yet still, since *Mr. Keill* sets up
 for Skill in those Parts of Learning parti-
 cularly,

(b) Exam-
 inat. of
 Dr. Bur-
 net's Theo-
 ry, P. 14,
 15.

cularly, whose Increases in this Age I chiefly contend for, I thought I might reasonably have look'd for fairer Quarter; and I could not forbear crying out, *Et Tu Brute*, when he fell upon me. But then one would certainly take it for granted, that this Great Mathematician should Accuse me of what he can prove me Guilty, and not Charge me with what he full well knows is **not** Deducible from my Words. He says *Des Cartes made no use at all of Geometry in Philosophy*: Let the Excellent Mr. Halley, now the worthy Professor of Geometry in Oxford, be Judge. In the Paper concerning Optics, which he did me the Honor to Communicate to me, he has these words; "As to *Dioptrics*, tho' some of the Ancients mention *Refraction*, as a Natural Effect of *Transparent Media*; yet *Des Cartes* was the **first**. who in this Age has **Discovered the Laws of Refraction, and brought Dioptrics to a Science.**" (c) The Question is not whether *Des Cartes* demonstrates every Thing in his *Principles*, but whether he found out any thing in Natural Philosophy, by the help of Geometry. This Mr. Halley averrs he did in his *Dioptrics*, and I never said he did it in his *Principles*: So that when Mr. Keill falls upon me on the Account of *Des Cartes's Principles*, he shews himself to be but an indifferent Logician,

B by

(c) Vide
Supra
Reflex.
p. 306.

by putting into his Conclusion what he did not find in his Premises : For I am sure he will not deny *Dioptrics* to be a very Noble Part of Philosophy.

Having said thus much in Vindication of my self, I think I am bound to say something too in Vindication of my most Learned Friend Dr. *Bentley*, who has suffered for being Engaged in a Controversy, into which I at first drew him. Mr. *Keill* in the first Place accuses him for Asserting, that *tho' the Axis of the Earth were Perpendicular to the Plane of the Ecliptic, yet take the whole Year about, we should have the same Measure of Heat as we have now* : WE, i. e. *The Inhabitants of the Temperate Zone*. Whereas it is certain, that if the *Sun* had moved continually in the Aequator, these Temperate Regions of the Earth would not take the whole Year about, have had so much Heat as they have now. Now this is all a Cavil upon the word WE : Dr. *Bentley* means the Inhabitants of the whole Globe ; not *Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Germans*, in opposition to the Inhabitants of *Guinea, Persia, or the East-Indies* : He is there speaking of the whole Race of Mankind, and in their Names setting forth the Praises of our Great Creator, who in every Thing has considered what was best for us ; and by a long Induction of Particulars shewing that Meliority in abundance of

Instances. And if the WE be taken of Mankind in general, dispersed over the greatest part of the Terrestrial Globe, Dr. Bentley's Proposition is strictly true; and therefore to prevent all future Cavils or Misinterpretations, he has put *the Earth* instead of *We* in the Edition of his Sermons which he put out in 1699, (d).

(d) In the first Edi-

tion of 1693, it is thus; "Tho' the Axis then had been Perpendicular, yet take the whole Year about, and WE should have had the same Measure of Heat, that WE have now." Bentley's *Conf. of Atheism from Origin and Frame of World*, Part. III. Pag. 23. In the Edition of 1699, it is alter'd thus; "Tho' the Axis then had been Perpendicular, yet take the whole Year about, and THE EARTH would have had the same Measure of Heat that IT has now, *Ibid.* Pag. 259.

The next Thing for which he accuses Dr. Bentley, is his Asserting, *That 'tis Matter of Fact and Experience, that the Moon always shews the same Face to us, not once wheeling about her own Center*, (e). "Where-

(e) *Examina-
nat. of Dr.
Burnet's
Theory,
Pag. 70.*

as, (says Mr. Keill,) 'tis evident to any one who thinks, that the Moon shews the same Face to us, for this very Reason, because she does turn once in the Time of her Period, about her own Center." (f) This is so heavy a Crime

(f) *Ibid.*

in Dr. Bentley, that Mr. Keill cannot forbear Crying out with great Concern, "That it were to be wished, that Great Critics would confine their Labors to their Lexicons, and not venture to Guess in those Parts of Learning which are

(g) Ibid.

“capable of Demonstration.” (g) I am sure *it were to be wished*, that Men that endeavour to deserve well of Religion and Learning, might be treated with Candor and Decency by other Men, who themselves are Men of Merit. Mr. *Keill's* Physical Lectures shew him to be both willing to do, and capable of doing good Service to Learning, in that Noble University where he lives: And for that Reason, I shall overlook his Usage of *Dr. Bentley* and of my self. As he grows older he will grow wiser, and not run a-muck at Men that never provoked him, nor go out of his way to vilifie and lessen their Reputations.

In the Case before us, he knows that Sir *Isaac Newton* was the first Man that made that Inference from the Moon's shewing the same Face to us, that Mr. *Keill* has done; namely, that therefore she turns about her Axis, and that the Time of one Rotation is equal to the Period of her Motion round the Earth. Nay, Mr. *Mercator*, who gave the first hint of this *proper diurnal Rotation of the Moon*, in his *Astronomy* which he Publisht in 1676, declares in so many words, that he had it from Sir *Isaac Newton*, who afterwards Published it himself, (and that too just as a Hint in a Line or two) in his own Famous Book which came out in 1687. You will be surprized, Sir,
if

if I should tell you that I have heard it very credibly related, that this Notion of a *Diurnal Rotation of the Moon about its own Axis*, was so new and strange to Dr. Wallis, that he never could rightly apprehend nor embrace it ; and long after Mr. Newton's Book came out, he speaks of it as if he could not digest it. (h) Dr. Bent-

ley therefore spake the Language of all the Astronomers before Sir Isaac Newton : So that it was not so evident to any one that Thought, that the Moon shews the same Face to us for that very Reason, because she does turn once in the Time of her Period about her own Center ; since, it seems, many Men that Thought in their Generations, never found it out. Dr. Bentley has shewn that he will not persist in an Error ; for in the Edition of that Sermon in 1699, he has left out the words, *not once wheeling about her Center*. It is no want of Judgment, not to know all Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries ; especially when they come in by the bye, and are so thick crouded as they are in his Incomparable Book. But it is something which deserves a severer Name than I give to it, to Insult a Learned Man for not knowing an Astronomical Discovery which

(h) Jam vero, quod & Telluri competat hujusmodi circa suam Axem Conversio (quâ & Lunam circumferre apta sit) ex ipsius Motu Diurno Constat. Nec minus certum videtur, hujusmodi Motum Lunae non competere, cum semper eadem Lunae facies nos respiciat. Quod fieri non posset si Luna Terram circumferret ; nisi forsitan diceretur, eadem plane Temporis Periodo Terram circumferre, quâ circa suam Axem ipsa vertitur, contra quam in reliquis fit. Wallisius de Aestu Maris, Pag. 743. Edit. Oxon, 1693.

Dr.

Dr. Wallis could never give a full assent to. And before I leave Mr. Keill, I shall take the Freedom to tell him, that Dr. Bentley may, Mr. Keill himself being Judge, be allowed to leave his Lexicons, and venture to Reason in those parts of Learning which are capable of Demonstration; since there is scarce one single Instance that Dr. Bentley had urged before of the Wisdom of God in forming of the World, and of Human Bodies, in his Six last Discourses, which Mr. Keill's Countryman, Dr. Cheyne, has not urged in the same way, and drawn the same Conclusions from them, that Dr. Bentley had done so long before. (b) Dr. Cheyne's Authority will pass with Mr. Keill, because his Book was approved by Dr. Freind of Christchurch, and by two excellent Mathematicians, my very worthy Friends, Dr. Arbuthnott, and Mr. Craig: This is what I thought necessary to say to Mr. Keill, who sees that I have not gone one Step out of my way to reckon with him.

(b) See
Dr. Chey-
ne's Philo-
sophical
Principles
of Natural
Religion:
London.
1705.

Some time after this Admonition from Mr. Keill, I receiv'd several from the Noble Examiner of Dr. Bentley's Dissertation upon the Epistles which go abroad under the Name of Phalaris. One of them is concerning a Grammatical Observation of mine about Delphi and Delphos, which that Noble Author has with greater plainness of Speech, than any of mine towards Sir W.

Temple

Temple, chastized me for; asserting that *Delphos* was more analogous to the Genius of our Tongue than *Delphi*. What Dr. Bentley has said in my Defence, is unanswerable; to which I shall only add, That Mr. Moile, a Gentleman of great Learning and Politeness in his Translation of *Xenophon's Hæcæ*, or of the Improvement of the Revenue of the State of Athens, which came out after the first Edition of the *Reflexions*, always says *Delphi*, and not *Delphos*. So does my excellent Friend Mr. Jenkin, in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*; and which is incomparably more to my present purpose, so did the very Learned Dr. Gale, late Dean of York, in one of his Sermons (k) which was printed after the *Noble Examiner's* Book came out: To which Book there is reason to believe Dr. Gale was by no means a

(k) Serm. III. p. 79.

Stranger. (l) As far as an Argument can be *ad hominem*, Dr. Gale's Authority is here decisive. To you and me, Sir, Mr. Stanley's Authority is so, who, as Dr. Bentley has observed already, constantly says, *Delphi* in his *Lives of the Philosophers*, as did

(l) I am glad of this Opportunity of mentioning the Worthy Dean of York, and

of paying my Public Acknowledgments to him for the particular Kindness and Favours I receiv'd from him, while I was under his Care. The Foundation of all the little Knowledge I have in these Matters, was laid by him, which I gratefully own; for I think my self obliged to let the World know whom I have been beholden to. Boile *Examin. of Dr. Bentley's Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris*; pag. 59, 60.

our

our dear Friend, your Kinsman, Mr. *Tho. Stanley* his Son, in his *Translation of Aelian's Various History*. The Truth is, in Words of daily use, which we have from the Common People, the Construction and Analogy, as we have received it from them, must be followed. They gave us those Words, and we must take them as they have given them; but in Words which Learned Men first introduced, which they chiefly have occasion to use, it is inexcusable to pretend Custom is to be follow'd, when the Analogy of a Language is manifestly violated. If therefore a Learned Man has ever used such a Word wrong, he has nothing to do but to mend the Fault, when once he is made acquainted with it.

(m) This Digression might have been spared,

but that Mr. *Wotton*, when he was purging his Book of some unbecoming Passages, in a second Edition of it, thought fit still to retain this Grammatical Reflection there: Perhaps in a Third Edition he'll take care that this too shall bear the rest Company. *Id. ibid. page 97.*

Another Admonition I have also received from the same Noble Author, in the Foundation

dation of which I must say, I think he is mistaken. When he is giving Dr. Bentley some Plain Advice about coining of new Words, and tells him, That that is the Work of great Masters, and a Privilege allowed only to Writers of the first Rate, who know the compass of a Language, and see through all its several Beauties and Blemishes;

He adds, Sir W. Temple may say sufficiency, and the World will speak after him. (n)

'Tis plain, by these Words, that this Noble Author thought I had tacitly reprov'd Sir W. Temple for making a new Word, or using an old one, at least, in a wrong Sense. Now I had never blamed Sir W. Temple for coining that Word, and had I done so, I had been my self in fault; since I knew, that Mr. Hobbes had used it, in a not much unlike Sense, long before, in his *Leviathan* (o).

And after all, how great a Master soever Sir W. Temple may be thought to be, there are a great many Words and Phrases which he uses, that in all probability will not be commonly received among us in haste: *Rapport* for *Proportion*; *Defense* of *Commerce* for *Prohibition* of *Trade*; *Surintendance* for *Superintendence*; and very many such sort of Expressions, especially in his *Memoirs* and *Letters*, are purely *French*, and not yet naturalized among us.

supposing themselves Gallant Men, are enclined only to Ostentation. And again in the Margin, *Ambition* from Opinion of Sufficiency. It is

(n) Id.
ibid. pag.
286.

(o) Part I.
cap. 11.
pag. 49.
Edit. 1651.
His words
are these,
Vain-glorious Men,
such as
without being
conscious to
themselves
of great
Sufficiency,
delight in

C

These

plain from hence, that Mr. Hobbes takes *Sufficiency* for an Opinion of ones own Ability's right or wrong. For Mr. Hobbes never looked upon *Ambition* to be a Vice. Sir W. Temple always takes it in an evil Sense, for *Vainness* and *Presumption*, which are Senses which the French Academy in their Dictionary put upon *Suffisance*, from whence Mr. Hobbes seems to have taken it.

These are the chief Exceptions which have been occasionally made to what I have said. Had not Sir W. Temple left a *Defense of his Essay* behind him, I should have said nothing to them; but since Dr. Swift has thought fit to publish that Sketch of an Answer, I looked upon my self as obliged to say something in Defense of what I had formerly written upon this Argument.

Dr. Swift in his Preface to the *Third Vol. of Sir W. Temple's Miscellanea*, says, That for the Paper relating to the Controversie about Ancient and Modern Learning, he cannot well inform the Reader upon what Occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another Kingdom. This is an odd Passage; because both his own Brother, who lived at that Time near Sir W. Temple, and was a great Admirer of that Gentleman, who was his Patron, could have certainly informed him of the true Reason why it was written, which also we may reasonably suppose he did; and also because he might by reading of it, plainly see that it was designed for an Answer to some Book or other; which therefore every Prudent Editor should for his Author's sake have consulted; and after that

that have taken Measures whether to publish it or no; and if Orders had been particularly left, that such a Discourse should be published right or wrong, then some way or other to have let the World know it. For otherwise an Editor may either hurt the Reputation of him whose Posthumous Discourses he undertakes to publish, or his own. This, however, I think may certainly be inferred, that Dr. Swift had no mind to defend that Paper, and thought it best by such a Declaration, to insinuate, that he was willing to have it shift for it self. So that I think I may build upon his Judgment, that this Paper of Sir W. Temple's is by no means an Answer to the Reflexions. So much for the *Editor's Preface*: I come now to the Discourse it self.

This Paper begins with *Three Reasons* why Sir W. Temple took a New Survey of his Essay concerning Ancient and Modern Learning. I. The Common Interest of Learning in general, and particularly in our Universities; and to prevent the Discouragement of Scholars in all Degrees, from reading the Ancient Authors, who must be acknowledged to have been the Foundation of all Modern Learning, whatever the Superstructures may have been. This does not at all relate to me. It is the very first Reason which I gave in the Preface of the Reflexions, why they were at first written. There is no Question but if the Youth in

our Universities should once leave off the Study of the Ancients, Learning would quickly sink: Infinite Mistakes would be perpetually committed, and those great and noble Parts of Knowledge in which they indisputably excelled, would remain uncultivated. II. *A just Indignation at the Insolence of the Modern Advocates, in defaming those Heroes among the Ancients, whose Memory has been sacred and admired for so many Ages, as Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus, &c.* It was a like *Indignation at the same Insolence* that induced him to write his First Essay. A good deal of this likewise does not belong to me. *Homer and Virgil* were, as they ought, always treated honourably; concerning my Usage of *Pythagoras and Democritus* I shall speak hereafter. III. *To vindicate the Credit of our Nation, as others have done that of the French, from the Imputation of this Injustice and Presumption that the Modern Advocates have used in this Case.* (p) If what I have said be right, I have been guilty of no Injustice; and how small soever my Quality is, it is no Presumption to attack Propositions in Print, let who will lay them down. We have seen Superiors treated by their immediate Inferiors, to whom, by the Laws of God and Man they ow'd a Reverence, with great plainness of Speech; and yet these Inferiors did not take themselves to be in fault, but

(p) *Temple's Miscellanea,*
3d. Part,
pag. 204,
205.

but affirmed that it was their Duty to admonish their Superiors freely from the Press, when they could come at them no other way. However justifiable this Practice may be in Matters relating to Religion and Government, let others dispute; it is certainly justifiable in Matters of Learning: No Man there has a right to use another ill; he may expose his Errors, but then it ought to be with a regard to his Person. And in the Case before us, with a very true Esteem for the *Minister of State*, and *the Bel Esprit*, I only disputed against the Author of the *Miscellanea*, and even there when I saw some Personal Reflexions had unawares crept into the First Edition, I voluntarily, and not admonished from the Press, struck them out in my Second. This Dr. Swift should have weighed before he had publish'd this Paper; he would then have seen it was a regard to Sir *W. Temple*, that made me strike out what I had said about *the Sergian Monk*, about Sir *W. Temple's* omitting *Moses* and *Jesus Christ*, when he mentioned the famous Legislators of Antiquity, in his Essay upon *Heroic Virtue*, and the *Hint* about *Prince Maurice's Parrot*. And though Sir *W. Temple* had in the Interval between the *First* and *Second* Editions of the *Reflexions*, published his Introduction to the *History of England*, yet I said nothing of the strange Mistakes therein committed. I did not
mention

mention his *Aethelbert* King of the *South-Saxons*, to whom *Augustine* the Monk was sent by Pope *Boniface* to convert our Forefathers to Christianity; tho' every body knows that *Aethelbert* was only King of *Kent*, and that it was *Gregory* the Great who sent *Augustine* into *England*. These Things *Dr. Swift* should have informed himself about, and not in a Controversie purely literary, sent Papers into the World concerning Matters wherein *Sir W. Temple* seems not to have been a Competent Judge. And therefore those that stand up for the Honor of the present Age, have reason to complain that they are call'd *Young Barbarous Goths and Vandals*, (q) when they, backed by Antiquity, speak impartially of some of the Ancients. Why should it be call'd Injustice and Presumption, (r) and where is the Wit in saying that Men know the *Seven Sages*, and the *Seven Wise Men of Gotham* alike; (s) when out of *Diogenes*, *Censorinus*, and *Pliny*, and other Celebrated Writers of Antiquity, they endeavour to set the Performances of the Ancient Philosophers in their true Light? My Arguments stand as they did in the *Reflexions*, and they are not weakened by the Negative Assertions of *Sir W. Temple*, who whenever he is prest, talks of *Conquests of Barbarous Nations*, great *Plagues*, and great *Inundations*; (t) by which he thinks he has demonstrated in his

(q) *Ibid.*
pag. 204.

(r) P. 205.

(s) P. 222.

(t) P. 234.

First

First Essay, how all the Traces and Memorials of Learning and Story may be lost in a Nation. What is this to the purpose? If the Traces and Memorials of Learning and Story are lost, Sir W. Temple talks in the dark about what was formerly. His Schemes are then, for ought he knows, imaginary; and his Negations do not disprove one positive Argument which was brought to determine the Comparative Excellency and Extent of the Knowledge of our Forefathers and our selves. I allow from the Testimonies of Antiquity, that *Pythagoras* was a wise Law-giver, that he found out the XLVIIth Proposition of the First Book of *Euclid*, and I give Reasons why we may justly suppose him to have been well versed in Arithmetical Speculations. One would think this had been enough; of this we have certain Proofs; when Sir W. Temple's Friends can shew from proper Evidences that the Knowledge of *Pythagoras* in Physics and Mathematic's was in its self greater than that of the Moderns, I shall acquiesce; in the mean time I must believe that *Archimedes* and *Apollonius*, and *Conon*, and *Dionysius* were incomparably better Mathematicians than he. Upon the same Grounds I must believe Sir *Isaac Newton*, and Dr. *Gregory* to know vastly more of the System of the Heavens, and of the Operations of Heavenly Bodies one upon another, of the Periodical

riodical Times in which the Planets of our System move, with their Distances from the Sun, of the Laws of Attraction by which those Times are fixed, of the Quantity of Matter of these mighty Bodies, and of many other amazing Theorems of this sort, than *Hipparchus* or *Ptolemy*. It is imposing upon Mens Understandings (which sometimes indeed arises from being imposed upon first ones self) to cry up *Thales* as a First Rate Mathematician, when one of the chiefest Things that is recorded of him in this way, is, that he first calculated Eclipses among the *Greeks*. Astronomy then must have been in its Infancy; yet what he did was wonderful at that Time, and deserves great praise. The *Chaldaeans* we know did not believe the Moon to have been an

(u) "Be-
"rosus qui
"a Chal-
"daeorum
"Civitate
"sive Na-
"tione
"progres-
"sus in A-
"sia etiam
"Discipli-
"nam pa-

Opake Body; (u) and Mr. *Halley*, who is a competent Judge, says, There was nothing done by the *Chaldaeans* in Astronomy older than about 400 Years before the Conquest of *Alexander*, i.e. within that Period, which, after *Herodotus*, who is the oldest Greek Historian, I set for the Rise of the *Assyrian* Monarchy, and about 100 Years before the

"refecit, ita est professus, Pilam esse ex dimidia parte candentem, reliqua
"habere caeruleo colore. Cum autem cursum Itineris sui pergens subiret
"orbem Solis, tunc eam Radiis, & Impetu Caloris corripit, convertitq; candentem,
"propter ejus proprietatem Luminis ad Lumen." *Vitruvius Lib. IX. cap. 4.* This whole Passage is quite misunderstood by the French Translator Mr. *Claude Perault*.

Time

Time when *Thales* lived in the *Lesser Asia*. But as far as *Sir W. Temple* is concerned in this Controversy, I must declare that I except against him as an Incompetent Judge, since he excepts against the *Doctrine of the Circulation of the Blood*, as not true, because *Sense can very hardly allow it; which, says he, in this Dispute must be satisfied as well as Reason, before Mankind will concur (w)*. One would think, when he was abroad, he had conversed with none but *Spaniards*, who, 'tis said, do scarce even at this Day believe it.

(w) Essay of Ancient and Modern Learning, pag. 44, 45.

But he that will answer *Sir W. Temple*, must go along with him in his Way; and therefore when he has no Arguments, he recurs to Surmizes. Something must be said to his *Plagues and Floods*, and *Conquests by Barbarous Nations*, which have brought Learning to the pass in which we now see it. Very well, let us set it upon this Foot. The oldest and the biggest Flood that ever was, was that in the Time of *Noah*: We know now from Philosophical Principles, that either that Flood was wholly miraculous, or depended upon Causes foreign to this of our Earth; yet as general as it was, there were Men enough preserved to inform us that the Use of Iron and Copper, of Musical Instruments, and of Agriculture was known before. So that even in that Case which we are sure happen'd but once, the

D Traces

Traces and Memorials of the Heads of the Knowledge of the Ante-Diluvian World are preserved. Where ever was there a Plague which destroyed a whole People? If one City suffered, another escaped; and Inventions of General Use have never been lost, unless they have been superseded by others of the same Nature, which have done the Business better. Here again, Sir, I can only referr you to the *Preface* of the *Reflections*, wherein this Question is at large Discussed.

In short, it is from what we *do know* of the *Chaldaean* and *Aegyptian* Knowledge, that we Argue to what we *do not*. Some Opinions, or Glimpses that Men once held such Opinions, are Demonstrations many times as well of their Ignorance, in those Sciences, as of their Knowledge. A long Induction of Particulars of this Nature, may be seen in the XVIIth XVIIIth and XIXth Chapters of the *Reflections*, to which, Sir, I will beg leave to referr you. I use few or no Negative Arguments, in the whole Book, but argue from *positive Knowledge* to *positive Ignorance*. Mr. Halley distrusts the Tradition of *Callisthenes's* bringing Astronomical Observations out of *Chaldaeae* into *Greece*, above MDCCCC Years older than *Alexander*, because the proper Authors say nothing of them, and have no Observations of the *Chaldaeans* older than

than CCCC Years before that Prince's
time : So that you see, Sir, there is a posi-
tive Argument upon which he builds, tho'
it may look like a Negative one, (x).

(x) Vide
Supra Re-
flexions,
Pag. 302.

This Negative way of Reasoning, which
Sir W. Temple is so fond of, is so much the
more suspicious, because he never uses it
when he thinks he can help it. Where he

has Room to Declaim, he does it plenti-
fully. He thinks, when I speak of Elo-

quence, I talk very absurdly, and so he
runs out thus ; *Upon the Subject of Elo-*

quence, they will have it, that Padre Paola's

Council of Trent, and Comines's Memoirs,

are equal to Herodotus and Livy, and so

would Strada be too, if he were but Impar-

tial, (y). This, says he, is very wonderful,

if it be not a Jest. It is one ; but then

the Jest lies in Asserting, that I set up

Comines and F. Paul as Patterns of Elo-

quence, when I say the contrary : For af-

ter I had declared (and not unwillingly

(z) I do assure you) that I thought the

Prize of Eloquence belonged of Right to

the Ancients, I then took notice of such

Performances wherein Oratory can only claim

share (a), and where Rhetorical Orna-

ments are only Secondary Beauties ; without

which, that Discourse wherein they are found

may be justly valuable, and that in a very

high degree. (b) Can I then be said to as-

sert, that upon the Subject of Eloquence,

(y) Dea
fense of
Essay,
Pag. 250.

(z) Ibid.
Pag. 230.

(a) Vide
Supra Re-
flex. P. 41.

(b) Ibid.
Pag. 37.

F. Paul and Comines are equal to *Herodotus* and *Livy* ? No ; F. Paul and Comines were pitched upon, because Eloquence was the Talent of neither of them. *Fra. Fulgentio* the great Friend of F. Paul's, who wrote his Life, says, *He never profess the Art of Speaking, nor had ever Studied it, but only so far as was necessary to express his Thoughts, (c) :* And this was so well known

(c) Il Padre non ha mai fatto Professione di Lingua, nella quale non ha ve-
va mai fatto Studio,
se non per servirsi all'Explicazione de' suoi sensi. Vi-
te del Padre Paolo,
Pag. 134.

at that time, that for that Reason *John Baptista Leoni*, who had formerly been Secretary to Cardinal *Commendone*, was order'd to draw up an Account of the Controversy between the *Venetians* and Pope *Paul the V.* from the Minutes which F. Paul gave him in Writing. *Polybius* therefore was mentioned among the Ancients, as an Instance that a History may be Incomparable, that has not Rhetorical Ornaments to set it off. There lay the Stress of the Argument : The Question was only concerning Greatness of Genius, proper to Execute Noble Performances ; and therefore when Sir *W. Temple* had asked whether *D' Avila's* and *Strada's Histories* be beyond those of *Herodotus* and *Livy* (d), I named two Modern Historians, F. Paul and *Philip Comines*, whom there I was only to consider as Historians, and not at all as Orators. And the Question between us was not, whether the Modern Histories absolutely taken, Exceeded the Ancients ; but whether some Mo-

(d) Essay,
Pag. 57.

der

derms have not, (considering the Subjects they wrote upon) *Composed as Instructing Histories as any of the Ancients*; and whether the Subjects which some of these Modern Writers chose, did not require as great Men to manage them, and consequently whether the Dignity of those Subjects was not preserved in those Performances?

Now if it be a *Jest* in Sir W. Temple, to make me say what I did not, it is more so for him to deny Father Paul's to have been a *History*. F. Paul's *History of the Council of Trent* is indeed no *History of any great Action*; but only an *Account of a long and artificial Negotiation between the Court and Prelates of Rome, and those of other Christian Princes*. So that I do not see how it can properly be stiled an *History*; the Subjects whereof are great *Actions and Revolutions*: And by all the *Ancient Critics upon History*, the first part of the *Excellence of an Historian*, is the *Choice of a Noble and Great Subject that may be worth his Pains* (e). This is imposing upon his Readers: The Council of Trent not a *Noble and Great Subject*! When a *Mighty Empire*, far exceeding in *Extent of Territory*, and perhaps in *Number of Subjects*, any of the *Four Ancient ones*, was to *Stand or Fall* by what that *Assembly* did; When *Germany and France* struck at the *Root of the Papacy*; When not the *Protestant Powers alone*, which had
made

(e) *Defense of Essay,*
Pag. 251.

made the Defection, but all the Obedient Kingdoms, *Spain* and *Portugal* alone excepted, were just shaking off the Papal Yoak; When a General Council, which was the chiefest Battery which the Protestants desired to have Play'd against the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, was employed against it for XL Years together; When after it had been put by for above Three Quarters of that Time, that at last the whole Force of it should be turned upon those that raised it, and so thereby the Power of the Popes of *Rome* to be secured, and settled upon a safer Bottom than it ever had before: These Things shew such a Depth of Contrivance, and such a Train of Refined Politics, that no Genius less than *F. Paul's* could have done Justice to his Argument, and acquainted us with the Springs of every Debate, and the Reasons of every Resolution. But there was no Fighting indeed, no Burning of Towns, and laying Wast whole Countreys, no knocking out of Mens Brains, in order to do them good, in *F. Paul's* History; all which I suppose are necessary to make up such a *Great and a Noble Subject*, as may be worth the Pains of an *Historian*.

For *Philip de Comines*, (says Sir *W. Temple*) None ever called it a *History*; nor he himself other than *Memoirs*, nor does either the Subject deserve it, or the Author, who is valued

valued only for his great Truth of Relation, and Simplicity of Stile, (f). Then Caesar's Accounts of the Gallic and Civil-Wars, are no Histories, because he calls them only *Comentaries*. I never knew a modest Title was a Prejudice to a Work before. Mr. Locke called his *Discourse upon Humane Understanding*, only an *Essay*; and yet the World has always esteemed it a very just Treatise upon that Subject. Some *Essays* indeed, have now and then appeared, which have not Merited a higher Title; so that it is not always a wrong way of Arguing from a Title to a Book. But the Subject of the *Memoirs of Philip de Comines* deserves no higher a Title. Be it so; *Thucydides* wrote the History of the *Peloponnesian War*, and thought so well of it, that he called it *Κτήμα ἐς αἰεί*: A never-failing Possession. And yet that was chiefly a Dispute between the Republics of *Athens* and *Lacedaemon*, which was Contested upon not much more Ground than the Kingdom of *France*: Whereas in the *Memoirs of Philip de Comines*, we have *France* and *England*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*, (the Governors at least of all these Nations) concerned; every one of which Powers were severally as great, some much greater than *Athens* and *Sparta* were in *Thucydides's* Time. But *Comines* is not commended by
me

(f) Ibid.
Pag. 251.

(g) Vide
Supra Re-
flex. P. 39,
40.

me as an Orator, (g) ; (I say little more of him, than Sir *W. Temple* himself) no more is Cardinal *D' Offat* ; and yet his Letters are so Excellent in their kind, that we have nothing in Antiquity of that sort to oppose to them. I forgot to mention them before, which I am sorry for, because Sir *W. Temple* was a truly competent Judge of their Worth, they being an Account of one of the nicest Embassys to the most Politic Court in the World, that ever was sent from one Prince to another ; that Cardinal and Cardinal *Perron* being employed by *Henry IV.* of *France*, to Negotiate his Reconciliation with the Pope, after he had declared himself a *Roman-Catholic*.

Having named *Thucidides* upon this Occasion, I can't without doing Injustice to my Argument, forbear mentioning my Lord *Clarendon's History of the late Rebellion*, which has lately seen the Light. That will be *Κτήμα ἐς αἰῶν* indeed, as the Publishers justly call it in the Title-Page. The Subject is every way as Great, the Events as Surprising, and the Conclusion as Miraculous, as Sir *W. Temple* himself could have desired. Here is Fighting enough, (too much in Truth) for those that love it, and Negotiations abundance, for those that had rather read them. Great Examples of true

Virtue ; I would have said *Heroic*, (but

(b) Sir

(b) Sir W. Temple allows no *Virtue* to be *Heroic* that is Unfortunate) wonderful Fortitude shewn by Great Men under the greatest Sufferings ; Mankind described under so many different Characters of Good and Evil Men, that one would hardly think it possible the Mind of Man should be capable of so much Variety, are every where to be met with in that Work ; and all this with so much strength of Style, and such a rich Copia of Words, that when the Prejudices of the present Age shall be worn off, and the Faction then raised be quite extinguished, I doubt not but *Dispassionate* Posterity (give me leave, Sir, to use a word which my Lord Clarendon seems to have been so fond of) will oppose it for Matter and Elocution, to the most Celebrated Performances of all Antiquity. But to return to Sir W. Temple.

(b) It must be assisted by Fortune to preserve it to Maturity ; because the Noblest Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, tho' never so bravely in its first Enterprizes, cannot deserve enough of Mankind to pretend to so great a Reward as the F-

steem of Heroic Virtue. And yet perhaps many a Person has Died in the first Battle or Adventure he achieved, and lies buried in Silence and Oblivion ; who, had he outlived as many Dangers as Alexander did, might have shined as bright in Honor and Fame. *Essay upon Heroic Virtue, Pag. 146, 147.*

He spends next a good deal of Time in Declaiming against me for bringing *Chymistry, Philology, and Divinity*, into the Number of *Sciences*. (i) The First of these I was so far from reckoning among the Sciences, that I expressly call it only an Instrument by which Sciences have been Ad-

(i) *Defense of Essay, P. 252, &c.*

E vanced

(k) *Reflex.* vanced (k), and the Stock of Knowledge
 Pag. 172, Enlarged ; which no Man will deny to have
 173. been done by its Means : And what he
 says about *Philology, Criticism* and *Divini-*
ty, is not at all to his purpose. The Que-
 stion which I labour to Discuss, is, *Who*

(l) *Ibid.*
 Pag. 7.

knew most, the Ancients or Moderns ? (l) and
 I there particularly separate this Question
 from that which Sir *W. Temple* had put,
Who were the greatest Men, the Ancients, or
the Men of these latter Ages ? This natu-
 rally led me into an Enquiry about the
 whole Compass of Knowledge of any sort :
 And as ludicrously as Sir *W. Temple* is plea-
 sed to describe it, I had an Example before
 me, of a Learned Man, who upon the
 same Subject had long ago done the very
 same Thing. In the Year MDCXX, *Al-*
essandro Tassoni, a Learned *Modenese*, Pub-
 lished his *Pensieri Diversi* ; which are *Mis-*
cellaneous Discourses upon all manner of Sub-
 jects, after the manner of *Pasquiers Recher-*
ches, or rather of *A. Gellius's Noctes Atticae* ;
 a Work exceedingly admired in *Italy*, and
 there several times Reprinted. One whole
 Book of the Ten, into which his Work is
 divided, is upon this very Subject, and the
 Introductory Chapter has this Title, *Whe-*

(m) *Se* *ther in Sciences and Arts, the Ancients have*
nelle Dot- *shew'd a greater Genius than the Moderns* (m) ?
trine, e
nell' Arti gli Antichi prevaleffero d' Ingegno a i Moderni. *Tassoni Pens.*
Divers. Lib. x. Cap. i.

And

And after he has divided his Heads of Enquiry into Three Parts, *Contemplation*, *Action*, and *Manufacture*, he Discourses upon these following Particulars, Grammar, Logic, Divinity, Natural Philosophy, Medicine, Moral Philosophy, Monarchs, Commonwealths, Lawyers, War, Horsemanship, Historians, Poets, Orators, Agriculture, Building, Householdstuff, Statuary, Painting, Apparel, Mathematical Sciences of all sorts, Curiosities and Subtilties. Here was a Noble Pattern set by a Man of great Repute in the Commonwealth of Letters; and a Pattern which I need by no means be ashamed to follow. And as to what I say concerning *Philology* and *Divinity*, I only beg the Curious Reader to compare the XXVIIIth and XXIXth Chapters of the Reflexions with what Sir *W. Temple* has said upon that Argument, and then I shall willingly stand to his Award.

Upon the occasion of *Tassoni's Thoughts*, I shall observe that what I say concerning the Care with which the *Italians* have Cultivated their Language, so that even distinct Treatises have been written concerning the Use of particular Letters, which Dr. *King* has thought fit to Ridicule in his *Dialogues of the Dead*, is taken out of this Writer, who did not think such Things below his Notice, when he was writing upon this very Subject. Such Writers as *Tassoni*, a

Man may very laudably Copy after, when he does not Steal from them; and a Man is got but a very little way, that is concerned as often as such a merry Gentleman as Dr. King shall think fit to make himself Sport.

You see now, Sir, that mine was no new nor strange Undertaking; that in an Enquiry of this Nature formerly, every thing that could be imagined to be an Increase of Knowledge was brought in; and that the Nature of my Undertaking (which bars all Disputes about Superiority of Genius in one Age above another) led me to favour no one side more than another; and last of all, that Divines, Philologers and Chymists had as much right to be remembred as Architects and Painters, as Poets and Historians. This therefore is a proper Place to take notice that the Stock of Knowledge still encreases; and since the Second Edition of the Reflexions came out, we have seen several Learned Performances, and some Executed by Men of our own Nation: I shall name but two, Sir *Isaac Newton's Optics*, and Dr. *Hicks's Thesaurus of the Northern Languages*.

Sir *Isaac Newton's Optics* is so entirely an Addition to the Stock of Knowledge, that till he first gave some Hints (of what he has now fully explained in that Book,) in the Philosophical Transactions about 30 Years

Years ago, it never enter'd into Mens Minds to conceive where the Truth lay in those Matters. The Subjects too, were of the greatest Importance in all Philosophy, even Light and Heat, and their Operations upon this Earth. Men never before imagined that all Light consists of Rays differently, but regularly *Refrangible* and *Reflexible*, and that those Rays are differently, and in the same Order *Reflexible*, which are differently *Refrangible*; that all Rays have their own Colours, which are constantly and regularly varied according to the different Refrangibility or Reflexibility of every such Ray; that no Position, no Refraction, no Reflexion alters the Nature of any single Ray; but that that Ray for Instance which appears Red, or Violet, or Orange, upon a single Refraction, will appear so upon a double one, if other Rays of different Colours are not blended with it; that Colour consequently is Essential and proper to every Ray of Light, and depends not upon the Position, or Surface, or Texture of the Bodies from which it is reflected, or thro' which it is refracted; that all which visible Bodies do, is by the Disposition of their Parts, to reflect Rays of one Colour more Copiously than Rays of another; that every several Ray of Light has an Innate Disposition to Excite such a determinate Sensation in us which we call by the Name of such

such a Colour ; and that the Original Colours are only these, Violet, Indigo, Blew, Green, Yellow, Orange and Red ; that all the Colours of the Universe which are made by Light, are either these Homogeneous ones, or Compounded out of a Mixture of these ; that Whiteness is caused by a due Mixture of all Primary Colours of Homogeneous Light, and Blackness by an entire Suffocation or Non-Reflexion of any Luminous Rays ; and that if the Solar Rays were all alike Refrangible, there would be but one Colour of all Visible Bodies, since all Colours unchangeably depend upon the different Refrangibility of every Individual Ray of Light. These, with innumerable other Discoveries of the Nature of Light and Heat, and their several Actions upon all other Bodies, were before very obscurely known ; and the Mechanism of the Great Architect in the Management of that which is the main Preserver and Cherisher of all the Life and Motion in this our Planet, are in a manner solely owing to the single Discoveries of that admirable Man.

The Second Work which I shall mention here, is of a very different Nature, and that is Dr. *Hicks's Thesaurus of the Northern Tongues*. By this Excellent Writer's means, we have an Accurate and large Grammar of that Language which our Ancestors

cestors the *Anglo-Saxons* spake at first : We have an Historical Account of the several Changes which the *Danes* first, and then the *Normans* and the *French* introduced into it : We have a full Description of their Poetry under all those Periods, and of the several Dialects of the *English* Language, from about the Year DCCC to *Henry II's* Time : We are able now to draw up an Accurate History of the Alterations of our Language since we were a People, to this Time ; to ascertain the true Original of almost every Word, and thereby to fix its Signification for the time to come, and so hinder the future Fickleness of our truly Noble Language, if once such a Dictionary were made of it, as the Members of the *French Academy* have made of theirs. The *French* and the *Germans*, the *Italians* and *Spaniards* have like Obligations to this Industrious Author for what he has done upon the old *Gothic* and *Francic* Languages, which were the Tongues of their *Gothic* and *Teutonic* Ancestors DCCC or M Years ago. Hereby they will see how little their Learnedest Men have understood of the Originals of their own Languages, (any farther than as they are derived from *Latin*) comparatively to what may be now learnt ; and how often, and how childishly *Menage* and *Ferrari*, and all their *Etymologists* have been mistaken in their Accounts of the most
Com-

Common Words for want of these Assistances: Assistances which the *English* Antiquary must not neglect, how perfect soever he may reckon his own *Anglo-Saxon* Monuments, if he will thoroughly comprehend his Native Tongue. Would a Man imagine that *Iseland*, and *Norway*, and *Denmark* and *Sweden* are Countries from whence the Southern Nations should need to fetch the Knowledge of their own Originals? Dr *Hicks* will inform us that multitudes of Words of the most daily use, which we have not from the *Anglo-Saxons* are still preserved in the *Norwegian* Tongue, which is still spoken in its Primitive Perfection in *Iseland*; of the Learned Men of which Island we have abundance of valuable Productions, many of which have been published by Northern Antiquaries in this Age.

What use the Poetry of the old *Runic* Scalds, the Fabulous Mythology's of the *Iselandic Edda's*, and the Histories or *Saga's*, as they call them, of the other Learned Men who lived in the utmost North, during the most Barbarous Ages of Learning, might be applied to, was in a manner unknown, till the great *Olaus Wormius* first broke the Ice. And though since (to name no others) *Resenius* and *Bartholin* among the Danes; *Verelius*, *Peringskiold* and *Rudbeckius* among the Swedes, have made many Surprising Discoveries in the Learning of these Northern

Nations which broke the *Roman* Empire, and founded these Noble mixt Governments, of which we still (and long may we do so!) reap the Benefit : Yet what this *Englishman* has done towards explaining and illustrating the *Northern* Languages, will make the Work incomparably easier, and we may reasonably expect in the next Age to see the Learning of our *Northern* Ancestors better known to us, than it ever was to them in any single Age in which any of them lived. This is a part of Learning Sir *W. Temple* would not have despised, if he had been alive when this Book appeared ; who in his *Essay upon Heroic Virtue*, makes laudable use of some of the Ancient *Runic* Monuments, which *Wormius* or *Bartholin*, or both, helpt him to. The truth is, those Nations which in their Time did such wonderful Things ; which broke that Power that for so many Ages had kept so great a part of the World in subjection ; which establisht such Just and Reasonable Governments in its place ; which were so eminent for true Courage and Contempt of Death (n) even when Idolaters, and for true, zealous, unaffected Piety when once converted to the Christian Faith, ought to have all we know of them carefully preserved : And the Helps which Dr. *Hicks* has given us to preserve them, and the mighty and various Uses which he has shewn may be made of them when understood, are Benefits

(n) See
Thomas Bartholin
 the Younger's Admirable Book,
*De Causis Contem-
 tæ a Danis adhuc Gen-
 tilibus Mortis.*

nefits for which he ought to be remembred, especially by a *young Barbarous Goth or Vandal*, the Off-spring of some one of these Northern People, with particular Honour. These Words of Sir *W. Temple's*, which are part of the Character that he has thought fit to bestow upon me, admonish me whether I must return, tho' what I have said is no Digression from my first Design.

What I say of the *Assyrian* Monarchy in the *Reflexions* comes next to be considered. Sir *W. Temple* thinks he has a large Scope to fall upon me there, and he is not wanting to say all he can upon it. The Account of the First Race of Kings from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*, I do I think with Reason disallow, because *Herodotus* is silent, whose Business it was to have given an Account of them. Besides, had there been such a mighty Monarchy in *Assyria* or *Babylonia* before the Time of *Pul*, the *Jewish* Historians must have mention'd it. To prove this, I use a positive Argument, which Sir *W. Temple* represents as if it had been only a Negative one. "These Moderns (says he) will not allow the plainest Accounts given us by the best *Greek* and *Latin* Authors of the Duration of those Empires, though not contrary to the Periods allow'd us by the Scriptures. But the Reasons they give for not believing them, seem to me weak and frivolous to be taken notice of."

As first, That we have no Account of the *Assyrian* Kings in Scripture till *Tiglath-Pileser* and others, (o) whereas the Scriptures take no notice of the Story of either the *Aegyptian*, *Assyrian*, *Tyrian* or *Sidonian* Governments, but as they had at some certain times a Relation to the Affairs of the *Jews*, or their Commonwealth." Here all that I said concerning *Amraphel* and *Chushan-Rishathaim* (p) is untouched, though therein lay the strength of my Argument. I produce, you see, Sir, a positive Argument first, that there was no great *Assyrian* Monarchy before the Time of *Pul*, which is, that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* is described by *Moses*, and *Chushan Rishathaim* in the Book of *Judges*, but as *Heads of Clans*, or at least as *Petty Reguli*. To this Argument he should have replied, before he had found fault with what I said about *Pul* and *Tiglath-Pileser*. Now the several Accounts which the *Jewish* Historians give of these several Monarchs, shew the Ancientest to have been but small ones, and those nearer the Captivity to have been very powerful Princes. And though the *Jewish* Writers do indeed take no farther notice of the *Aegyptian*, *Assyrian*, *Tyrian* or *Sidonian* Governments, than as they had to do with their own Commonwealth, yet it is impossible to write the Civil History of any one Nation, and not to say so much of

(o) *Defense of Essay,*
pag. 235,
236.

(p) *Vide supra Reflex. p. 130.*

its Neighbouring States as may give us to understand something positive concerning their Greatness or Smalness. Take *England* for Instance : No Man can go over its History since the Invasion of *William* the Conqueror, but he will find, if he carries on his Enquiries to the Death of King *Charles II*, that *Scotland* was a distinct entire Monarchy till the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* ; that *Ireland* was divided into several Petty Sovereignties in *Henry II*'s Time ; that *France* consisted of several distinct Dominions, the chief of which was governed by the King of *France*, to whom the rest were feudatary ; that all these Subordinate Dominions did not fall into the possession of the Kings of *France* till our *Henry VII*'s Time, when *Charles VIII* of *France* married the Heiress of the Duke of *Britany* ; that *Germany*, and *Spain*, and *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries* had distinct Sovereignties respectively within themselves for several Ages ; that in *Edw. IV*'s time the House of *Burgundy* had got all the *Low-Countries* into its own possession : that in *Henry VII*'s Time the Heir of *Burgundy* married the Heiress of *Spain*, which was then as good as united under one Head, and so laid the Foundation of the greatest Western Monarchy which had been seen since the *Roman* Times : that after this Monarchy became terrible , it invaded *England*, which made
such

such an Opposition to it by the Wise Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, as went very far to pull down its Greatness ; and that upon its Ruines a Monarchy mightier in Intrinsic Strength, though less in Extent of Territory, arose in *France*, which affrighted all the States and Kingdoms that lay round about it. All this, and abundance more relating to our Neighbouring Countries, a Man cannot avoid knowing by the bare reading of the *English* History from the Year MLXVI, to the Year MDCXCIV. And yet such a History will concern it self with the Affairs of Foreign Countries no farther than as they have had an immediate relation to our own Affairs. So now in *Abraham's* Time we find *Phoenicia*, *Syria* and *Assyria* in the hands of Petty Princes, whilst *Aegypt* was a great and a powerful Monarchy, capable in *Moses's* Time to hinder an Army of 600,000 Men, besides Women and Children, from going out of the Country against the Governors Wills. We find likewise that it continued to be a distinct Kingdom till the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*. In *Syria* we find a considerable Kingdom, with *Damascus* its Capital City, during the Reigns of the Kings of *Israel*, which, and all the lesser Monarchies round about, fell a Prey to the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings after they became powerful. Thus *Herodotus*, and the Canon of *Ptolemee*, and the Astronomical Ob-

Observations of the *Chaldaeans* and the *Jewish* Writers agree. Consider, Sir, how near *Mesopotamia* and *Judaea* ly to one another. Such Monarchs as the old *Assyrians* of the Family of *Ninus*, would soon have made the *Jews* and *Syrians* tributary, or have attempted it at least, and then we must have heard of it. The History of *Q. Elizabeth* is full of the Attempts of *Phil. II.* upon *England*. Great Monarchies in the nature of Things will always be striking at their smaller Neighbours, who of course will fall into Alliances to keep the Balance of Power even, as well and as long as they can; or else they will be cajoled and bribed, and so made Tools by which they will contribute to devour the rest. Sir *W. Temple* knew this better than I do, his Business led him to it, and when he was a Public Minister Abroad, as far as we may judge by his Political Writings, he seems to have had very true and just Notions of Matters of this kind. Whatsoever therefore he here gravely urges against his *Young Barbarous Adversary*, it is impossible he could ever believe that there was a mighty Monarchy in *Assyria* so near to *Judaea* upon the same Continent, so long as from the Time of *Ninus* to the Time of *Sardanapalus*, of which we should have had no Footsteps older than the History of *Ctesias*, whom *Aristotle*

He in his own Time branded for a Lyar

(q).

(q) 'Εν τῇ
Ἱερουσαλὴμ, &c

οὐκ ἐκείναι, ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀξιόμισθον, ἢ τε ἡμεῖς, ἢ ἄλλοι οὗς *Aristot.*
De Hist. Animal. Lib. VIII. cap. 28. This thing alone is sufficient to
determine concerning *Ctesias's* Authority. He says, There are no
Hogs Wild or Tame in the *East-Indies*; now on the contrary, we
know there are both. Hunting of the Wild-Boar is a great Diversi-
on in that Country at this Day. *Aristotle* we see was better inform-
ed, and therefore declares that *Ctesias* was not ἀξιόμισθον, worthy of
Credit.

But Arguments drawn from the Agree-
ment of Sacred and Prophane History, have
no weight with *Sir W. Temple*. "As it has
"never succeeded with so many Learned
"Men, that have spent their whole Time
"and Pains to agree (r) the Sacred with
"the Prophane Chronology (not to except
"Sir *John Marsham's* great Industry) so I
"never expect to see it done to any pur-
"pose." (s) Where then must the Fault lie?
Not in the *Jewish* History, which is consi-
stently and regularly delivered down to us
from the Creation, to the Destruction of
the first Temple. It must be then in those
Pagan Historians who have given Accounts
of the Originals of the most Famous *Gentile*
Nations: But the oldest of these is *Herodo-*
tus, and his Accounts of the *Median*, *Assyri-*
an and *Persian* Monarchies agree well
enough with the Sacred Historians. It
brings them down indeed many Ages lower
than the *Jewish* Accounts; and this morti-

(r) *Sir W.*
Temple
here puts
Agree for
Reconcile,
and so
uses it
transitive-
ly, for to
make a-
gree: Per-
haps the
being a
Great Ma-
ster will
bear him
out; les-
ser Men
must be-
ware of
such
Things.
(s) *De-*
fense of
Essay,
pag. 236.
fied

fied the Vanity of these Nations. This probably set *Ctesias* a work, who is followed by almost all the Ancients who treat of these Matters. That the Sacred and Profane Historians therefore do not agree, is not the fault of the Truth, but of those who have corrupted it. But indeed if the *Assyrian* Race from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*, for which we are beholden to *Ctesias*, is removed, a great deal of Sir *W. Temple's Hypothesis* falls to the Ground, and that made him so zealous for the *Ctesian* Race of the *Assyrian* Monarchs.

After all, if the Controversie between Sir *W. Temple* and me were to be decided by the *Greek* Writers, and of those there were a due choice, the Incompetent Authorities being set aside, when more competent ones can be substituted in their Rooms, the Dispute would soon be at an end. The *Greek* Writers are the Men I appeal to, and by their Accounts of the Knowledge of the Ancients, I desire the Extent of Modern Knowledge may be measured. But then it is fit those Authorities should be clear and proper: it is fit that a Man treating of his own Art or Science, should be credited beyond a Writer who seems not to speak of his own Knowledge concerning that Matter: it is fit that the Authors who are the nearest to the Times or Facts in question should first be heard,
and

and that nothing be admitted that is not reconcileable to the *Jewish* Text. Let the Old Testament be admitted barely as a History without any regard in the present Dispute to its Inspiration, but such a History as has had a whole Nation for very many Ages together to attest its Truth, whilst there is no consistent *Anti-History* of any other People to oppose it. Thus the Scriptures will *not* be of *Private Interpretation*, but will help us to correct the *Private Interpretations* of other Writers. And herein are Sir *John Marsham's Disquisitions* upon his *Canon Chronicus* particularly to be prized, that he has reduced the wild incoherent Antiquities of the *Aegyptians* to a fixt *Aera*, and has set aside all those remote *Assyrian* Accounts which only confounded Mens Belief of the History of the Old Testament.

I have now given a full Answer, as I think, Sir, to all the Argumentative part of Sir *W. Temple's Thoughts* upon the *Reflexions*. If we do not allow that he misunderstood the Question as I had plainly stated it (t), we must believe that he wilfully mistook it; and the rather, because when he was to examine the several Particulars in which I apprehended that the Preference was to be given to the Moderns, he drops the Question. It is done decently indeed, and there is a *Hiatus in Manuscripto*, as the

(t) Vide
Supra Reflex. pag. 7.

(u) P. 42. *Publisher of the Tale of a Tub* expresses it (u) that so we may suppose the Comparison was intended to be made, and only by accident left imperfect. For after Sir William Temple had said, "Since the Modern Advocates yield, though very unwillingly, the Pre-eminence of the Ancients in Poetry, Oratory, Painting, Statuary and Architecture; I shall proceed to examine the Account they give of those Sciences, wherein they affirm the Moderns to excel the Ancients; whereof they make the chief to be the Invention of Instruments; Chymistry; Anatomy; Natural History of Minerals, Plants, and Animals; Astronomy and Optics; Music; Physick; Natural Philosophy; Philology and Theology; of all which I shall take a short survey." There is a Gap, and Dr. Swift fills it up thus, *Here it is supposed, the Knowledge of the Ancients and Moderns last mentioned, was to have been compared: But whether the Author designed to have gone through such a Work himself, or intended these Papers only for Hints to somebody else that desired them, is not known. After which, the rest was to follow written in his own Hand as before.* (w) This Method of answering of Books, and of publishing such Answers, is very dissatisfactory. Just where the Pinch of the Question lay, there the Copy fails, and where there was more Room

(w) *Defense of Es-*
say, p. 230.
231.

Room for flourishing, there Sir W. Temple was as copious as one would wish. To use his own Words, *This is very wonderful, if it be not a Jest*; and I take it for granted, Dr. Swift had express Orders to print these *fragments* of an Answer.

This way of printing Bits of Books that in their Nature are intended for Continued Discourses, and are not loose Apophthegms, occasional Thoughts, or incoherent Sentences, is what I have seen few Instances of; none more remarkable than this, and none more which may be supposed to imitate this, *The Tale of a Tub*, of which another of Dr. Swift's is publicly reported to have been the Editor at least, if not the author. In which though Dr. Bentley and myself are courtesly treated, yet I believe I may safely answer for us both, that we should not have taken any manner of notice of it, if upon this Occasion I had not been obliged to say something in answer to what has been seriously said against

For, believe me, Sir, what concerns us, much the innocentest part of the Book, tending chiefly to make Men laugh for an Hour, after which it leaves no farther Effects behind it. When Men are seduced upon for what is in it self praiseworthy, the World will do them Justice: and on the other hand, if they deserve it,

they ought to sit down quietly under it. Our Cause therefore we shall leave to the Public very willingly, there being no occasion to be concerned at any Man's Raillery about it. But the rest of the Book which does not relate to us, is of so irreligious a nature, is so crude a Banter upon all that is esteemed as Sacred among all Sects and Religions among Men, that, having so fair an Opportunity, I thought it might be useful to many People who pretend they see no harm in it, to lay open the Mischief of the Ludicrous Allegory, and to shew what that drives at which has been so greedily bought up and read. In one Word, God and Religion, Truth and Moral Honesty, Learning and Industry are made a May-Game, and the most serious Things in the World are described as so many several Scenes in a *Tale of a Tub*.

That this is the true Design of that Book, will appear by these Particulars. The *Tale* in substance is this; "A Man
"had three Sons, all at a Birth, by one
"Wife; to whom when he died, because
"he had purchased no Estate, nor was
"born to any, he only provided to each
"of them a New Coat, which were to last
"them fresh and sound as long as they
"lived, and would lengthen and widen on
"themselves, so as to be always fit."

(x) By

(x) By the Sequel of the *Tale* it appears, (x) P. 54. that by these three Sons, *Peter, Martin, and Jack*; *Popery, the Church of England, and our Protestant Dissenters* are designed. What can now be more infamous than such a *Tale*? The Father is *Jesus Christ*, who at his Death left his **WILL** or **TESTAMENT** to his Disciples, with a Promise of Happiness to them, and the Churches which they and their Successors should found for ever. So the Tale-teller's Father to his three Sons, "You will find in my **WILL** full Instructions in every Particular concerning the wearing and managing of your Coats; wherein you must be very exact, to avoid the Penalties I have appointed for every Transgression or Neglect, upon which your *Future Fortunes* will entirely depend." (y) By his Coats which he gave his Sons, the Garments of the *Israelites* are exposed, which by the Miraculous Power of God waxed not old, nor were worn out for Forty Years together in the Wilderness. (z) The number of these Sons born thus at one Birth, looks asquint at the **TRINITY**, and one of the Books in our Author's Catalogue in the Off-page over-against the Title, is a Panegyric upon the Number **THREE**, which Word is the only one that is put in Capitals in that whole Page (a).

(y) Ibid.
P. 54, 55.

(z) Deut.
VIII. 4.

(a) In the
Citations

out of the *Tale of a Tub*, the first Impression is constantly quoted.

In

(b) P.

In the pursuit of his Allegory, we are entertain'd with the Lewdness of the Three Sparks. Their Mistresses are the *Dutcheſs d' Argent*, *Madamoizelle de Grands Titres*, and the *Counteſs d' Orgueil* (b) i. e. *Covetouſneſs*, *Ambition* and *Pride*, which were the Three great Vices that the Ancient Fathers inveighed againſt as the firſt Corrupters of Chriſtianity. Their Coats having ſuch an extraordinary Virtue of never wearing out, give him large Scope for his Mirth, which he employs in burleſquing Religion, *Moral Honesty* and *Conſcience*, which are the ſtrongest Ties by which Men can be tied to one another. *Is not Religion a Cloak, Honesty a Pair of Shoes worn out in the Dirt, Self-love a Surtout, Vanity a Shirt, and Conſcience a Pair of Breeches?* (c) Which laſt Alluſion gives him an opportunity that he never miſſes of talking obſcenely.

(c) P. 60.

(d) P. 61.

His Whim of Clothes is one of his chiefſt Favouriteſ. "Man, ſays he, is an Animal compounded of two *Dreſſes*, the *Natural* and the *Coeleſtial-Suit*, which were the "Body and the Soul." (d) And "That the Soul was by daily Creation and Circumfuſion they proved by Scripture, be-
" cauſe *In them we live, and move, and have our Being.*" *In them* (i. e. *in the Clothes of the Body* :) Words applicable only to the Great God of Heaven and Earth, of whom they were firſt ſpoken by St. Paul (e).

(e). Thus he introduces his Tale; then (e) Acts XVII. 28.
 that he might shelter himself the better
 from any Censure here in *England*, he falls
 most unmercifully upon *Peter* and *Jack*,
 i. e. upon *Popery* and *Fanaticism*, and gives
Martin, who represents the *Church of Eng-*
land, extream good Quarter. I confess,
 Sir, I abhor making Sport with any way of
 worshipping God, and he that diverts him-
 self too much at the Expense of the *Roman*
Catholics and the *Protestant Dissenters*, may
 lose his own Religion e're he is aware of it,
 at least the Power of it in his Heart. But
 to go on.

The first Part of the *Tale* is the *History of*
Peter. Thereby *Popery* is exposed. Eve-
 ry body knows the *Papists* have made
 great Additions to Christianity. That in-
 deed is the great Exception which the
Church of England makes against them. Ac-
 cordingly *Peter* begins his Pranks with ad-
 ding a *Shoulderknot* to his Coat, "whereas his
 Father's Will was very precise, and it was
 the main Precept in it with the greatest
 Penalties annexed, not to add to, or di-
 minish from their Coats one Thread,
 without a positive Command in the
 WILL." (f) His Description of the (f) P. 63.
 both of which the Coat was made, has
 farther Meaning than the Words may
 seem to import. "The Coats their Father
 had left them were of very good Cloth,
 " and

“and besides so neatly sown, you would
 “swear they were all of a Piece, but at the
 “same time very plain, with little or no
 (f) Ibid. “Ornament.” (f) This is the Distin-
 guishing Character of the Christian Reli-
 gion. *Christiana Religio absoluta & simplex*,
 was *Ammianus Marcellinus*’s Description of
 it, who was himself a Heathen. (g) When
 the *Papists* cannot find any thing which
 they want in Scripture, they go to *Oral Tra-*
dition: Thus *Peter* is introduced dissatis-
 (g) Lib. ed with the tedious Way of looking for all
 XXI. in the Letters of any Word which he had oc-
 fine. casion for in the *Will*, when neither the
 constituent Syllables, nor much less the
 whole Word were there *in Terminis*, and
 he expresses himself thus; “Brothers, if
 “you remember, we heard a Fellow say
 “when we were Boys, that he heard my
 “Father’s Man say, that he heard my Fa-
 “ther say, that he would advise his Sons to
 “get *Gold-Lace* on their Coats, as soon as
 “ever they could procure Money to buy
 (h) P. 67. “it.” (h) Which way of coming at any
 thing that was not expressly in his Father’s
 W I L L, stood him afterwards in great
 stead.

The next Subject of our *Tale-teller*’s Wit
 is the *Glosses* and *Interpretations* of Scripture
 very many absurd ones of which kind are
 allow’d in the most Authentic Books of the
 Church of *Rome*: The Sparks wanted Sil-
 ver

ver Fringe to put upon their Coats. Why, says *Peter*, (seemingly perhaps to laugh at *Dr. Bentley* and his Criticisms); "I have found in a certain Author, which shall be nameless, that the same Word which in the Will is called *Fringe*, does also signify a *Broomstick*, and doubtless ought to have the same Interpretation in this Paragraph." (i) This affording great Diverfi-

(i) P. 70.

on to one of the Brothers; "You speak, says *Peter*, very irreverently of a *Mystery*, which doubtless was very useful and significant, but ought not to be overcuriously pry'd into, or nicely reason'd upon." (k) The Author, one would think, (k) Ibid.

copies from *Mr. Toland*, who always raises Laugh at the Word *Mystery*, the Word and Thing whereof he is known to believe to be no more than a *Tale of a Tub*.

Images in the Church of *Rome* give our Tale-teller but too fair a Handle. "The Brothers remembred but too well how their Father abhorred the Fashion of Embroidering their Clothes with *Indian* Figures of Men, Women and Children; that he made several Paragraphs on purpose, importing his utter Detestation of it, and bestowing his Everlasting Curse to his Sons, whenever they should wear it." (l) The Allegory here is direct. (l) P. 71. the *Papists* formerly forbad the People the use of Scripture in a Vulgar Tongue; *Pe-*

H

ter

ter therefore locks up his Father's Will in a strong Box brought out of Greece or Italy: Those Countries are named, because the New Testament is written in Greek; and the Vulgar Latin, which is the Authentic Edition of the Bible in the Church of Rome, is in

- (m) P. 72. the Language of Old Italy. (m) The Popes in their *Decretals* and *Bulls* have given their Sanction to very many gainful Doctrines which are now receiv'd in the Church of Rome, that are not mentioned in Scripture, and are unknown to the Primitive Church. *Peter* accordingly pronounces *ex Cathedra*, that *Points* tagged with Silver were absolutely *Jure Paterno*, and so they wore them in great numbers. (n) The Bishops of Rome enjoy'd their Privileges in Rome at first by the Favour of Emperors whom at last they shut out of their own Capital City, and then forged a Donation from *Constantine the Great*, the better to justify what they did. In imitation of this *Peter*, "having run something behindhand with the World, obtained leave of a certain Lord to receive him into his House and to teach his Children. A while after the Lord died, and he by long Practice upon his Father's Will, found the way contriving a Deed of Conveyance of the House to himself and his Heirs: Upon which he took possession, turned out the Young Squires out, and receiv'd his Blessing" "the

"thers in their stead." (o) *Penance* and (o) P. 73.
Absolution are plaid upon under the Noti-
 on of a Sovereign Remedy for the Worms,
 especially in the Spleen, which by obser-
 ving of *Peter's* Prescriptions, would
 void insensibly by Perspiration ascending
 through the Brain. (p) By his *Whisper-* (p) P. 94.
ing Office for the Relief of Eves-droppers,
 Physicians, Bawds and Privy-Councillors,
 he ridicules *Auricular Confession*, and the
 Priest who takes it is described by the Ass's
 Head. (q) Holy-Water he calls an Uni- (q) P. 95.
 versal Pickle, to preserve Houses, Gardens,
 Towns, Men, Women, Children and Cattle,
 wherein he could preserve them as sound as In-
 sects in Amber; (r) and because Holy-Wa- (r) P. 96,
 ter differs only in Consecration from Com- 97.
 mon Water, therefore our Tale-teller tells
 us that his Pickle by the Powder of *Pimper-*
limp receives new Virtues, though it
 differs not in Sight nor Smell from the
 Common Pickle which preserves Beef, and
 Butter, nor Herrings. (s) The *Papal Bulls* (s) P. 97.
 are ridiculed by Name, so there we are at
 no loss for our Tale-teller's Meaning. (t) (t) P. 97.
Absolution in Articulo Mortis, and the *Taxa* 100.
Camerae Apostolicae are jested upon in Em-
 peror *Peter's* Letter. (u) The *Pope's Uni-* (u) P. 101.
versal Monarchy, and his *Triple Crown*, and
Key's and *Fishers Ring* have their turns of
 being laughed at; (w) nor does his Arro- (w) P. 103.
 gant way of requiring Men to kiss his Slip-

- (*) Ibid. per, escape Reflexion (x). The Celibacy of the Romish Clergy is struck at in Peter's turning his own and Brothers Wives out of Doors. (y) But nothing makes him so merry as *Transubstantiation* (z): Peter turns his Bread into Mutton, and according to the Popish Doctrine of Concomitance, his Wine too, which in his way he calls *pau-ning his damned Crusts upon the Brothers for Mutton* (a). The ridiculous multiplying of the *Virgin Mary's Milk* among the Papists, he banters under the Allegory of a Cow which gave as much Milk at a Meal, as would fill Three thousand Churches: (b) and the *Wood of the Cross* on which our Saviour suffered, is prophanelly likened to an "Old Sign-post that belonged to his Father, with Nails and Timber enough upon it to build Sixteen large Men of War": (c) And when one talked to Peter of *Chinese Waggon*s which were made so light as to sail over Mountains, he swears and curses four times in Eleven Lines, that the *Chapell of Loretto* had travelled Two Thousand German Leagues, though built with Lime and Stone, over Sea and Land (d).
- (*) Ibid.

But I expect, Sir, that you should tell me, that the *Tale-teller* falls here only upon the Ridiculous Inventions of Popery; that the Church of Rome intended by these things to

to gull silly Superstitious People ; and to rook them of their Money ; that the World had been but too long in Slavery ; that our Ancestors gloriously redeemed us from that Yoak ; that the Church of *Rome* therefore ought to be exposed, and that he deserves well of Mankind that does expose it.

All this, Sir, I own to be true : but then I would not so shoot at an Enemy , as to hurt my self at the same time. The Foundation of the Doctrines of the Church of *England* is right, and came from God : Upon this the Popes, and Councils called and confirmed by them, have built, as *St. Paul* speaks, *Hay and Stubble* , perishable and slight Materials, which when they are once consum'd, that the Foundation may appear, then we shall see what is faulty, and what is not. But our *Tale-teller* strikes at the very Root. 'Tis all with him a *Farce*, and all a *Ladle*, as a very facetious Poet says upon another occasion. The *Father*, and the *WILL*, and *his Son Martin*, are part of the *Tale*, as well as *Peter* and *Jack*, and are all usher'd in with the Common Old Wives Introduction, *Once upon a Time* (e). And (e) P. 54. the main Body of the *Will* we are told consisted in certain admirable Rules about the wearing of their Coats (f). So that let *Peter* be mad one way, and *Jack* another, and let *Martin* be sober, and spend his Time with Patience and Phlegm in picking the Em- (f) P. 124.

Embroidery off his Coat never so carefully,
 “ firmly resolving to alter whatever was al-
 “ ready amiss, and reduce all their future
 “ Measures to the strictest Obedience pre-
 (g) Ibid. “ scribed therein ” (g); Yet still this is
 all part of a *Tale of a Tub*, it does but en-
 hance the *Teller's* Guilt, and shews at the
 bottom his contemptible Opinion of every
 Thing which is called Christianity.

For pray, Sir, take notice that it is not
 saying he personates none but Papists or
 Fanatics, that will excuse him; for in other
 Places, where he speaks in his own Person,
 and imitates none but himself, he discovers
 an equal mixture of Lewdness and Irreligi-
 on. Would any Christian compare a *Mounte-
 bank's-Stage*, a *Pulpit*, and a *Ladder* toge-
 ther? A *Mountebank* is a profess'd Cheat,
 who turns it off when he is press'd, with
 the Common Jest, *Men must live*; and with
 this Man the Preacher of the Word of God
 is compared, and the Pulpit in which he
 preaches, is called an *Edifice* (or Castle) *in*
 (b) P. 34. *the Air* : (b) This is not said by *Peter*, or
Jack, but by the Author himself, who af-
 ter he has gravely told us, that he has had
 Poxes ill cured by trusting to Bawds and
 Surgeons, reflects with “ unspeakable Com-
 “ fort, upon his having past a long Life
 “ with a Conscience void of Offence towards
 (i) P. 51. “ God and towards Man ” (i).

In his own Person, the Author speaks in one of his Digressions of "Books being not bound to Everlasting Chains of Darkeness in a Library; but that when the Fulness of Time should come, they should happily undergo the Tryal of Purgatory, in order to ascend the Sky." (k) In another Digression our Author describes one of his Madmen in *Bedlam*, who was distemper'd by the Loose Behaviour of his Wife, to be like *Moses: Ecce Cornuta erat ejus Facies*; (l) which is the rendring of the *Vulgar Latin* of that which in the *English Bible* is called *the shining of his Face* when he came down from the Mount. (m) Our Author himself asserts, that the "Fumes issuing from a Jakes, will furnish as comely and useful a Vapor, as Incense from an Altar." (n). And 'tis our Author in his own Capacity, who among many other Ludicrous Similes upon those that get their Learning out of *Indices*, which are commonly at the End of a Book, says, "Thus Human Life is best understood by the Wise-man's Rule of *regarding the End*." (o) 'Tis in the *Fragment*, which has nothing to do with the *Tale*, that Sir *Humphrey Edwin* is made to apply the Words of the *Psalmist*, *Thy Word is a Lanthorn to my Feet, and a Light to my Paths*, to a Whimsical Dark Lanthorn of our Authors own contrivance; wherein he poorly alludes to *Hudibras's* Dark-

(k) P. 144.

(l) P. 179.

(m) Exod. XXXIV. 29, 30, 35.

(n) P. 160.

(o) P. 139.

(p) P. 307. *Dark-Lanthorn of the Spirit, which none see by but those that bear it.* (p) His whole VIIIth Section concerning the *Aeolists*, in which he banters Inspiration, is such a Mixture of Impiety and Immodesty, that I should have as little regard to you, Sir, as this Author has had to the Public, if I should barely repeat after him what is there. And it is somewhat surprizing that the Citation out of *Irenaeus*, in the Title-Page, which seems to be all *Gibberish*, should be a Form of Initiation used anciently by the *Marcosian Heretics* (q). So great a delight has this Unhappy Writer, to play with what some part or other of Mankind have always esteemed as Sacred!

(q) The Words of this Form of Redemption, as these He-

retics called it, are *Basma eaca lasa ea naa irraurista, diarbada caetaba fobor camelanthi*. So it is in the Old Editions of *Irenaeus*, from one of which it is here transcribed. *Irenaeus* thus interprets them, *Hoc quod est super omnem virtutem Patris invoco, quod vocatur Lumen & Spiritus & Vita, quoniam in corpore regnasti. i. e. I call upon this, which is above all the Power of the Father, which is called Light, and Spirit, and Life, because thou hast reigned in the Body.* The Greek Words which were faulty at first, made the Latin ones yet more so; it is probable that *Irenaeus* might not understand them right at first: They are *Syriac*, and in the very Learned Mr. *Grabe's* Edition of *Irenaeus*, they are very ingeniously restored out of *Jacobus Rhenferdus's* Dissertation, upon the Redemption of the *Marcosians* and *Heracleonites*.

And therefore when he falls upon *Jack*, he deals as freely with him, and wounds Christianity through his Sides as much as he had done before through *Peter's*. The Protestant Dissenters use Scripture-Phrases in their Serious Discourses and Composes more

more than the Church of *England-men*. Accordingly *Jack* is introduced, making "his Common Talk and Conversation to run wholly in the Phrase of his *WILL*, and circumscribing the utmost of his Eloquence within that compass, not daring to let slip a Syllable without Authority from thence." (r) And because he could (r) P.197.

not of a sudden recollect an *Authentic Phrase*, for the Necessities of Nature, he would use no other : (s) Can any thing be prophaner (s) P.198.

than this? Things compared, always shew the Esteem or Scorn of the Comparer. To ridicule *Praedestination*, *Jack* walks blind-fold through the Streets; the Body of our Dissenters having till of late been *Calvinists* in the Questions concerning the *Five Points*. "It was ordained, said he, some few days *before* the Creation (*i.e.* immediately by God himself) that my Nose and this very Post should have a Rencounter; and therefore Providence thought fit to send us both into the World in the same Age, and to make us Country-men and Fellow Citizens." (t) This is a di- (t) P.199.

rect Prophanation of the Majesty of God. *Jack* would run Dog-mad at the Noise of Music, especially a Pair of Bagpipes." (u) (u) P.203.

This is to expose our Dissenters Aversion to Instrumental Music in Churches. The Agreement of our Dissenters and the Parties, in that which Bishop *Stillfleet* cal-

(w) P. 206,
207, 208.

led the *Fanaticism of the Church of Rome*, is ludicrously described for several Pages together, by *Jack's* likeness to *Peter*, and their being often mistaken for each other, and their frequent meeting when they least intended it: (w) In this, singly taken, there might possibly be little harm, if one did not see from what Principle the whole proceeded.

This 'tis which makes the difference between the sharp and virulent Books written in this Age against any Sect of Christians, and those which were written about the beginning of the Reformation between the several contending Parties then in *Europe*. For tho' the Rage and Spight with which Men treated one another was as keen and as piquant then as it is now, yet the Inclination of Mankind was not then irreligious, and so their Writings had little other effect but to encrease Mens Hatred against any one particular Sect, whilst Christianity, as such, was not hereby at all undermined. But now the Common Enemy appears barefaced, and strikes in with some one or other Sect of Christians, to wound the whole by that means. And this is the Case of this Book, which is one of the Prophanest Ban-
ters upon the Religion of Jesus Christ, as such, that ever yet appeared. In the *Tale* in the *Digressions*, in the *Fragment*, the same Spirit runs through, but rather most in the
Fragment.

Fragment, in which all extraordinary Inspirations are the Subjects of his Scorn and Mockery, whilst the Protestant Dissenters are, to outward appearance, the most directly levelled at. The Bookseller indeed in his Advertisement prefixed to the *Fragment*, pretends to be wholly ignorant of the Author, and he says, he cannot conjecture whether it be the same with that of the two foregoing Pieces, the Original having been sent him at a different Time, and in a different Land. It may be so; but the Stile, and Turn, and Spirit of this *Fragment*, and of the *Tale* being the same, no body, I believe, is doubted of their being written by the same Author: If the Authors are different, so much the worse, because it shews there are more Men in the World acted by the same Spirit. But be the Author one or more, the Mask is more plainly taken off in the *Fragment*. The Writer uses the Allegory of an *Ass's* bearing his Rider up to Heaven: (x) And presently after he owns (x) P. 287. that the *Ass* to be allegorical, and says, "That if we please, instead of the Term *Ass*, we may make use of *Gifted* or *Enlightned Preacher*, and the Word *Rider* we may exchange for that of *Fanatic Auditory*, or any other Denomination of the like Import:" (y) And now having settled this mighty Point, (as he contemptuously calls it) he enquires by what Methods this Teacher

(y) P. 28.

(z) Ibid.

arrives at his Gifts, or Spirit, or Light (z) Enthusiasm with him is an Universal Deception which has run through all Sciences in all Kingdoms, and every thing has form

(a) P. 189.

Fanatic Branch annexed to it ; (a) among which he reckons the *Summum Bonum*, or *Enquiry after Happiness*. The Descent of the *H. Ghost* after our Blessed Saviour's Ascension in the Shape of Cloven Tongues, at the First *Pentecost*, in the Second of the *Acts*, one of the Subjects of his Mirth : And because in our Dissenting Congregations, the Auditory used formerly with great Indecency to keep on their Hats in Sermon Time therefore, says he, " They will needs have it as a Point clearly gained, that the Cloven Tongues never sat upon the Apostles' Heads, while their Hats were on." (b) used

(b) P. 295, 296.

that Ridiculous Argument to prove that Dissenting Ministers are not divinely inspired. And he does not mince the Matter when he says, " That he is resolved immediately to weed this Error out of Mankind, by making it clear, that this Ministry of venting Spiritual Gifts is nothing but a Trade acquired by as much Instruction, and master'd by equal Practice as Application as others are." (c) Can any thing be more blasphemous than his

(c) P. 303.

at *Leap-Frog between the Flesh and Spirit*

(d) P. 310.

(e) Rom.

VII.

(d) This affects the Doctrine of St. Paul (e) and not the Private Interpretations

this or that Particular Sect ; and this too is described in the Language of the Stews, which with now and then a Scripture-Expression, compose this Writer's Stile. Thus when the *Snuffling* of Men who have lost their Noses by Lewd Courses, is said to have given rise to that Tone which our Dissenters did too much affect formerly, He subjoins, "That when our Earthly Tabernacles are disordered and desolate, shaken and out of Repair, the *Spirit* delights to dwell within them, as Houses are said to be haunted, when they are forsaken and gone to decay.(f)" And in his Account of Fanaticism, he tells us, *That the Thorn in the Flesh, serves for a Spur to the Spirit.* (g) Is not this to ridicule St. Paul's own Description of his own Temptation ; in which the Apostle manifestly alludes to a Passage in the Prophet *Ezekiel* (h)?

(f) P. 313.

(g) P. 319.

(h) 2 Cor. XII. 7. and Ezek. XXVIII. 24.

What would Men say in any Country in the World but this, to see their Religion so vilely treated from the Press? I remember to have seen a *French* Translation of the Learned Dr. *Prideaux* (the present Worthy Dean of *Norwich's*) *Life of Mahomet*, printed in *France*, I think at *Paris*, in the *Advertisement* before which, the Translator tells the Public, That he did not translate the *Letter to the Deists*, thereto annexed in *English*, because, says he, our Government suffers no such People, and there is no need of Anti-

Antidotes where there is no Poison. Be this true or false in *France*, it matters not to our present Purpose; but it shews that no Man dares publicly play with Religion in that Country. How much do the *Mahometans* reverence the *Alcoran*? Dares any Man among them openly despise their Prophet, or ridicule the Words of his Law? How strictly do the *Banians*, and the other Sects of the *Gentile East-Indians* worship their Pagods, and respect their Temples? This Sir, you well know, is not Superstition nor Bigottry. It is of the Essence of Religion, that the utmost Regard should be paid to the *Name and Words of God*, both which upon the slightest, and the most ridiculous Occasions, are play'd upon by Common Oaths, and Idle Allusions to Scripture Expressions in this whole Book. I do not carry my Charge too far.

For admitting that this Writer intended to make himself and his Readers Sport, by exercising his Wit and Mirth upon a Couple of Pedants, as he esteems Dr. *Bentley* and my self; yet since the *Tale* may thus be explain'd, and since to your knowledge and mine, Sir, it has been thus interpreted by Unconcerned Readers, the Mischief which it does is equally great to Mankind. Besides, even that Excuse will not serve in the *Fragment*, which is levelled at no particular Man that I can find whatsoever. Dr. *King*,
late

late of *Christ-Church* was so sensible of this, that when by reason of the Personalities (as the *French* call them) in the Book, it was laid at his Door, he took care immediately to print such *Remarks* upon it, as effectually cleared him from the Imputation of having writ it: He therein did like a Christian; and he that is one, would be very uneasie under the Character of being none. And this is what Mr. *Swift* is yet under greater Obligations to do, because of his Profession. The World besides will think it odd, that a Man should in a Dedication play upon that Great Man, to whom he is more obliged than to any other Man now living; for it was at Sir *William Temple's* Request, that my Lord *Sommers*, then Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal of *England*, gave Mr. *Swift* a very good Benefice in one of the most Delicious Parts of one of the Pleasantest Counties of *England*. It is publicly reported that he wrote this Book: It is a Story, which you know, Sir, I neither made, nor spread; for it has been long as public as it can well be. The Injury done to *Religion*, that any of its Ministers should lie under the Imputation of writing such a *Burlesque* upon it, will be irreparable, if the Person so charged does not do it and himself Justice. I say Himself, for in my own Conscience I acquit him from composing it. The Author, I believe, is dead, and it is probable that it was

was writ in the Year 1697, when it is said to have been written.

- Before I leave this Author, be he who he will, I shall observe, Sir, that his *Wit* is not his own, in many places. The *Actors* in his *Farce*, *Peter*, *Martin*, and *Jack*, are by Name borrowed from a Letter written by the late Witty D. of *Buckingham*, concerning Mr. *Clifford's Human Reason*: (i) And *Peter's* Banter upon *Transubstantiation*, is taken from the same D. of *Buckingham's Conference with an Irish Priest*, (k) only here *Bread* is changed into *Mutton* and *Wine*, that the Banter might be the more crude; there a *Cork* is turned into a *Horse*. But the *Wondrings* on the one side, and the *Asseverations* on the other, are otherwise exactly alike. And I have been assured that the *Battel* in *St. James's Library* is *Mutatis Mutandis* taken out of a *French Book*, entituled, *Combat des Livres*, if I misremember not.

And now, Sir, I heartily ask your Pardon for troubling you with so long a Letter. You know the true Reasons and Inducements of my Writing the *Reflexions* at first; I cannot think it needed any Apology then, and so I do not write this Letter as an Apology now. I wrote then of the Writings of one Gentleman at the Command of another, who is an exact Judge of Decency and Good Manners. I would say a great deal more, but that I write to, as well as of

of your self. But I should have been inexcusable, if, when you saw and gave your self the Trouble of reading the *Reflections* before they went to the Press, I should not have compos'd them so, as that you should not have needed to disown them afterwards. Your Friendship, in truth, has been for many Years so generous towards me, and so disinterested, that I have often found you could as willingly have made Excuses for my Failings, as have commended my good Management. But as the Office of an excuser is what for ones Friend's sake, as well as ones own, a Man is not too frequently to put his Friend upon, so the principal Design of my Writing this long Narrative, was to satisfy you, Sir, who are so very much concerned, that all the Objections hitherto made against the *Reflexions*, will easily admit of a direct and full Answer. I have nothing more to say, but that it is necessary for your sake, that I should inform the Public, that the Faults in this Letter are my own, and that I will not desire you stand by me upon the account of any Mistakes of which I may have been guilty.

S I R,

*Your most Obliged and
Faithful Servant,*

W. Wotton.

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